

AN ADDRESS
TO THE
ELECTORS OF THE SEA-PORTS
OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM
ON THE
NAVIGATION LAWS :
AND
THEIR DUTIES AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE.

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BY THE AUTHOR OF "SHIPS & RAILWAYS."  
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1847.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF THE SEA-PORTS

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM.



THE time is rapidly approaching when the destinies of Britain will again be placed in the hands of the Electors.

It is as solemn and critical a period as ever dawned upon them.

These great destinies are involved in her *Naval Power*.

There is no era in her history, in which being weak at sea, she was great in commerce, in colonies, and in prosperity.

At such times she was nationally weak : and when lowest, her commerce was ruined, her territories invaded, her towns bombarded, and her very Capital insulted. Behold her in this perilous position in the seventeenth century, after a long suspended operation

of the Maritime Laws, and before the *great maritime charter*—the *Navigation Laws* of the commonwealth had produced their effects ! Behold the Dutch, possessing the whole carrying trade of Europe, and *its consequence*, masters at sea, fighting with success at the time of the Great Louis, the combined Fleets of England and France—rich, prosperous, and powerful, and England humbled ! Behold Britain's Empire—the Empire of the world, depending twice within the last century on a single naval battle, and her supremacy at sea : once under Rodney ; and again, when Napoleon sought with 200,000 French troops flushed with European conquest to lay your country in ruins ! Strong in her Navy, the homes of England were unpolluted,—her territories undesecrated,—her liberties uninvaded. Strong in her Navy, as the sagacious Tallyrand observed, the combined strength of Europe could not injure her,—“ They might assemble in millions on the shores of the Channel, but there would be the limits of their enmity ; their fleets are ready to pounce upon, to disperse and destroy them—*there lies England's strength.*” As Napoleon's bitter experience proclaimed at St. Helena,—“ Let England maintain the Empire of the Seas, and she may dictate terms to the world.”

This Empire of the Seas depends upon the extent of her *Commercial Marine*.

Its scene of operations is “ the Seamen's nursery, camp, and preparatory battle field.” The maritime practices and principles that have guided England

since Alfred's time, for 1000 years, so far developed this naval Empire in Canute's reign as, by *the common consent of nations, to elevate England to be the protector of the seas;—to whose flag all ships lowered their colours.*

The principles of this greatness were embodied in a legislative Act in Richard II's time, 500 years ago,* chiefly intended to counteract the effects of the *Charta Mercatoria* of Edward I, which had inundated the Country with Foreign Merchants and Foreign Ships. This Act of Richard formed the basis of all the future *Navigation Laws*, which have been only modifications of it. Here is the spirit:—by it *no British subject could embark merchandise in any but a British Ship, the greater part of whose crew must be British subjects, under forfeiture of Ship and Cargo.*

But twelve years after a relaxation of it was introduced by the fatal proviso, that *if the owners of English Ships did not take reasonable gains for the freight of the same, then Foreign Ships might be employed,†*

This relaxation, combined with the turmoil of the civil wars, reduced British Shipping so low that in little more than 50 years, when Edward IV invaded France, Charles the Bold was obliged to lend him Ships to transport his army: and by its operation in 80 years when Richmond invaded England he did it in 40 Foreign Ships, and Richard III was not able to muster a fleet of sufficient force to encounter him,

* 5 Richard II.

† 17 Richard II, c. 6.

and thereby lost his crown. Henry VII, however, no sooner seized the sceptre than, seeing the errors of his predecessors, he caused, in his very first Parliament, a representation to be made that "the great minishment and decaying of the Navy" were such that "this noble realm, within short process of time, would not be of ability and power to defend itself." The Laws of Richard were therefore amended and strengthened by Henry VII;* which again were strongly reinforced by Henry VIII,† on the grounds that *the Merchants neglected the Nation's good for their own immediate good, by shipping in Foreign Vessels*, and that, therefore, "the navy and multitude of ships had been of late marvellously impaired."

Here is the experience of a remote antiquity.

Let us gather more. These laws being relaxed in Edward VI's reign, in five years brought a reduction of the Navy to half its former force.‡

Scarcely, however, had the wise Elizabeth ascended the throne, when the old policy was resumed and reinvigorated.

She charged the increased duties as for aliens' goods on all British merchandise shipped in Foreign bottoms.§ Contrary to the existing policy she al-

* 1 Henry VII, c. 8.

4 Henry VII, c. 10.

7 Henry VII, c. 8.

† 32 Henry VIII, c. 14

‡ Report of the Commission, 1618, in Charnock, II, 246.

§ Elizabeth, c. 1, and Elizabeth, c. 5, "An Act touching politic constitutions for the maintainance of the Navy."

lowed exportations of fish and herrings in *British Vessels*, to the then great fish consuming countries of Catholic Europe; and so deeply impressed was she with the necessity that her Navy should be strong, that for it, she even changed the habits of her People; and almost despotically interfered with their domestic arrangements to sustain it. She issued a Proclamation that each family in England should every week observe two fish days, Wednesdays and Saturdays, to employ and increase her Seamen.

This was "*meant politically*," as the act declares, "and not for any superstition to be maintained in the choice of meats." She reaped the advantage of her *politic* arrangements and foresight in the glorious defeat of the Spanish Armada, and in the safety of her crown and people.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth, in 1651, with the iron republican Cromwell, finding from the relaxation of the maritime laws under the Stuarts the Commercial Marine almost annihilated, and the Navy greatly decreased, concentrated their spirit and principles in a single Act, deservedly called *the Maritime Charter*. The silken and courtly Charles, though hating and destroying even the memory, as far as possible, of his predecessors' Acts, yet carefully preserved this Act, and strengthened it,*—be this recorded to the honour of his patriotism and intelligence. There must have been something great and wise in it

* 12 Charles II.

that could concentrate upon it the deep regards of beings so hostile and discordant.

These Laws continued in their main principles to regulate and encourage the commercial marine, with one or two exemplary exceptions, immediately to be named, till the Act 3rd and 4th William IV, entitled, "*An Act for the encouragement of British Shipping and Navigation*," which consolidated them; itself being modified in some points by the 8th and 9th Victoria, chap. 88.

These Laws run like golden threads through the pages of the history and policy of England from the remotest time, reflecting her glory and power the more brightly when most observed, and obscuring them when neglected. They have guided, uninterruptedly, our Maritime Policy for the last 200 years. By them England was enabled to raise at a critical juncture 120,000 seamen, and to fight in the giant war, for her political existence, the battles of Copenhagen, Camperdown, St. Vincent, Trafalgar, and the Nile,—covering her with glory, and encompassing her with strength.

These Laws originating in your insular position, sanctioned by the wisest statesmen in all ages, hallowed by time, and productive of such brilliant results, is it your will to repeal? No! Then why do you not adopt measures to protect and perpetuate them? You are too remiss—too neglectful of the Palladium of your Country, her interests, and honour. Your children, if not yourselves, may have to sustain the

weight of the errors of the present generation, if it do not crush them. The England of the future, it is too probable, will sink under the aets of England of the present—while no enemy could have reached her. You are sacredly bound to bequeath her to posterity, as strong in power, as great in civilization and glory, as from your great fathers she was bequeathed to you.

If you will not listen to the deep voice of history, teaching wisdom by experience ; hear at least the rebound of your own acts, and learn.

The present generation is cognizant of, and has allowed *relaxations* in, the Maritime Code, and what have been the consequences ?

In 20 years, from 1786 to 1806, the relaxation in favour of the United States brought down our tonnage *inwards* from that country, from 36,875 tons to 11,347 tons ; and *outwards*, from 39,651 tons, to 8,731 tons, a reduction of *two-thirds* inwards, and greatly over *three-fourths* outwards. While, by a similar relaxation, British tonnage from the United States to our West India Islands was reduced in 10 years, (from 1794 to 1804) from 86,010 tons, to 7,629 tons, or more than *ten-elevenths* ; which ought instead to have been increasing from the increasing wants of a larger population. There is a lesson in these facts which will be clearly understood by wise men.

See others, so marked, so well defined as the effects of relaxation by the Reciprocity Treaties, that the most obtuse mind cannot fail to comprehend them,

however wrapt in fancied wisdom by the vulgar and superficial cant of the would-be philosophers of the day.

Take a few leading statistics of the last thirty years from 1815 to 1845, twenty of these years the shipping under the operation of the Reciprocity Treaties.

	1815.	1845.
Population.....	17,956,503	26,831,652
Wool	43,816,966lbs...	76 828,152lbs.
Tea.....	29,345,699lbs...	51,057,930lbs.

1825.

Sugar.....	440,871,872lbs...	650,863,472lbs.
Cotton	228,005,291lbs...	721,523,712lbs.

1815.

British Shipping	2,447,831 tons.	3,123,180 tons.
Foreign Shipping cleared inwards	656,271 tons.	1,301,950 tons,
United States Shipping..	1,368,127 tons.	2,280,095 tons.

It appears, then, that *your Population*, and of course its wants, *increased* in this period .. 50 per cent.

Wool.....	75½	„
Tea	72½	„
Sugar	47¾	„
Cotton, in 20 years	216½	„
The United States tonnage.....	66½	„
The Foreign entries, nearly doubled	98½	„
While the British tonnage increased only	27½	„

If the Reciprocity relaxations be not the cause of checking British tonnage, almost bringing it to a stand still, of only 1 per cent. increase annually, while all around it show so great an increase, (the Foreign tonnage more than three times that of British,) what, we would ask, may be the cause?

Should the same relative ratio of increase go on for thirty years more, and the effects will be, *the ma-*

ritime strength of Britain and America, cæteris paribus, will be equal.

A hostile combination may then be made that might annihilate your power, and all your dependencies.

Take another set of facts.

Four years after the Reciprocity Treaty with <i>Prussia</i> , our tonnage increased with that country only....	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.
While the tonnage of <i>Prussia</i> increased	105 „
With <i>Denmark</i> under the Reciprocity Treaty,	
British tonnage increased	69 $\frac{7}{8}$ „
While Danish increased.....	703 „
With <i>Germany</i> , British Shipping increased under Treaty	37 „
While German Shipping increased	307 „
With <i>Sweden</i> , under the Reciprocity Treaty,	
British tonnage <i>decreased</i>	41 „
While the Swedish tonnage <i>increased</i>	80 „
With <i>Norway</i> , under the Treaty, British tonnage <i>decreased</i>	55 $\frac{1}{2}$ „
While Norwegian tonnage increased	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ „

And at the same time our exports fell to every one of these countries. But let us go on.

The Reciprocity treaties apply chiefly to the countries of the Baltic. On an average of 1824 and 1825, there passed *the Sound*, the era of the commencement of the Reciprocity treaties,

British Ships,	Foreign Ships,
4,363.	7,476.

And on an average of 1843 and 1844, after not quite twenty years of the operation of these Treaties, there passed the Sound

British Ships,	Foreign Ships,
3,969.	12,164.

Shewing the British Commercial Marine to the

Baltic <i>decreased</i>	394 Ships.
While the Foreign <i>increased</i>	4688 „

under the influences of these Treaties.

Is it possible to have clearer, or more startling facts on the subject,—pointing to a course of utter ruin to our Commercial Marine, if further subjected to the same baneful influences?

But how is this? Can British Ships not compete with Foreign? No—not in cheapness of carriage. But in construction, capability, and in the daring skill and industry of their Seamen? Yes—they infinitely surpass them. Let us see the reasons for the only superiority of Foreign Ships—*Cheapness.*

The people of Britain do not live like foreigners, their magnificent physical powers originate not more from their highly developed race, as the best combinations of the continental tribes, than from their systematic good feeding. Many of the continental nations, and their Seamen, seldom enjoy animal food; their state of living is inferior and less abundant; while our seamen enjoy animal food daily, often twice a day, and abundance nourishes their magnificent frames. This habit and disposition pervade every class of British people. The crews of British Ships consequently do not cost less *than 1s. per day each man for provisions*; while Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Russians, Prussians, and even French, cost little more *than 6d. per day each man.* A British crew of ten hands will consequently cost for food £182 10 0 a year while a Foreign crew will cost only about £91 5 0.

The *wages* at the same time, and from the same cause, are proportionally greater in British than in Foreign Vessels. The families of the crews of the former require greater and more expensive supplies than those of the latter; for this high labour price enters into all that may be produced in Britain, enhancing their cost. The same British Ship, with its captain at £8, its mate at £5, and its men at £2 5 0 per month, will pay in wages, at least, £330 per annum; while the Foreign Ship, with its captain from £4 to £5, its mate from £2 to £3, and its men from £1 5 0 to £1 10 0 per month, will not exceed £190 per annum; giving an advantage on these two items alone, provisions, and wages, of £231 per annum to the foreigner, in a vessel of about 280 tons.

The *capital* employed in British Vessels greatly exceeds that in Foreign Vessels, which is another clement in relative cheapness.

A First-Class, Twelve-years, *British Ship* (at Lloyd's,) of London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Sunderland, will not, on an average, cost less than £17 10 per ton.

While a <i>United States'</i> Ship of the same description costs.....	14 10	„
Holland	14 0	„
France	13 10	„
Denmark and Norway	12 0	„
Bremen and Sweden	11 0	„
Prussia	9 10	„
Finland*.....	8 10	„

* See Evidence before Commons Committee, of 1847, on Navigation Laws.

Consequently the freight that would pay the *British Ship* 5 *per cent.* on its capital, omitting even the difference in favour of the Foreigner in the items of provisions and wages, would pay the United States ship $6\frac{1}{4}$ *per cent.*, the Dutch $6\frac{1}{2}$, the French $6\frac{3}{4}$, the Danish and Norwegian $7\frac{3}{4}$, the Bremen and Swedish 9, the Prussian $9\frac{1}{2}$, and the Finlander $10\frac{3}{4}$ *per cent.* enabling the whole of these Foreign Vessels, in an unchecked competition, by the advantage of capital alone, to reduce the average freights to so low a rate as to press the British Ship out of employment—superceding her.

While a Foreign Ship is in the freight market the British Ship will not procure employment, from the higher price she will of necessity have to demand. Thus, while the British in the year will be making on 5 voyages, 25 *per cent.*, the Foreign Ship will be making from $31\frac{1}{4}$ *per cent.* up to $54\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*, the lowest, half the value of his vessel. But take *in addition* the difference of expense for provisions and wages, £231, and make the deductions for repairs, insurances, and wear and tear, and say the British Ship *cleared* 5 *per cent.* in the year, which on an average of years she seldom exceeds, the French will be clearing $12\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*, the Prussian 18, and the Russian $19\frac{1}{4}$ *per cent.* How easy then to press the 5 *per cent.* out of existence that keep the British Ship afloat, and these Foreign Vessels still enjoy enriching profits. The thing is as clear as a mathematical demonstration. The British Ship must as certainly disappear as effects

follow causes, as soon as the Navigation Laws are repealed, and the Foreigner has had time to accept the boon. *What is to save British Shipping?* Is not the purpose of the repeal to introduce the cheap vessel of the Foreigner? If it be not that, what is it? If these laws do not sustain, as of old, British Ships and Seamen, and they can sail as cheaply as Foreigners, then these laws do not enhance the prices, and there is no necessity for the purpose of those so violently opposed to them, to repeal them, and let in Foreign competition.

But if these Laws do sustain British Ships and Seamen, then, by introducing Foreign Ships by their repeal, you destroy to that amount British Ships. Already British Shipping is subjected to the competition of the other interests of the country, which are now exposed to, and ruled by Foreign prices to a great extent, and did the shipping trade rise to exorbitant profits, it would be immediately inundated from these competing interests. But this is not so, because the reduced position of British Ships will not sustain further reduction either from the introduction of more British capital, or of Foreign competition.

That un-English Committee of an unpatriotic House of Commons need not waste the public time and patience, in an affected solemn inquiry whether Foreign Ships can sail more cheaply than British, and whether the operation of the Navigation Laws is to protect British Shipping from ruinous Foreign competition. *We admit it—it cannot be denied—we have made out their case for them.*

But with the difference of price you have reared 160,000 British Seamen,—an impregnable barrier around your country ;—which is well worth the money.

There cannot be a doubt that the Foreigner can destroy British Shipping. It is the basis on which the British Maritime Code has been erected. The stronger the case that Committee makes out, the stronger the case for British Shipping. The easier that a Foreigner can undersell and destroy a British Ship, the stronger the necessity for protecting the British Ship. It has been reserved for this wise age solemnly to doubt this axiom of our insular position.

But perhaps that philosophic Committee means to assert, that the Commercial Marine is nothing to the Country or the Navy. All history tells them they are in error—facts proclaim it—the common sense of the people avouches it—nay, the very House of Commons, which in a weak moment generated this Committee, thus powerfully confirms it:—“ *Whereas the prosperity, strength, and safety of the United Kingdom and her Majesty’s Dominions do greatly depend on a large, constant, and ready supply of Seamen, and it is therefore expedient to promote the increase of the number of Seamen, and to afford them all due encouragement and protection.*”*

Do the prosperity, strength, and safety of the United Kingdom, and her Majesty’s Dominions de-

* August, 1844. Preamble of “An Act to consolidate the Laws relating to Merchant Seamen, and for keeping a Registry of Seamen.”

pend now, in 1847, less on “a large, constant, and ready supply of seamen” than they did in 1844? In what is their position changed? Nothing, but in this. A small conclave of greedy politicians, traitors in their acts, whatever their intentions, are desirous, under the semblance of a philosophy, which on this point its founder denounces, to destroy that great source of “the prosperity, strength, and safety” of the British empire, that they may the more freely pander to the insatiable lust for wealth, that is producing disease in the whole body politic; and that House of Commons, which enunciated so true a declaration has lent itself for the moment, to the criminal proceeding, and madly made war on the best interests of the country. Previous to the last false step, and since its magnificent preamble, that House of Commons, in its sectional Committees, has reiterated its noble spirit.

The *Select Committee on the Merchant Seamen's Bill* reports, that a comprehensive measure was necessary “to hold out to seamen *additional inducements to remain in the service of their Country.*”

Such as stock fish, black bread, rusk, train oil, and sour kront, with twenty-five shillings a month wages for their families.

The *Tidal Harbours Commission*, again, reports in a similar spirit:—“We would, therefore, strongly urge such assistance, not only on economical, but on *political grounds of the highest importance to the maritime interests of the Kingdom, as the Coasting Trade has ever been the best nursery for the hardy race of*

Seamen, who have so ably maintained the honour and power of this Country."

Sensible and wise men ! they are preparing the introduction of Foreign Ships and Foreign Crews to assist that "hardy race of seamen" to maintain "the honour and power of the Country."

Since which, the *Committee on Light Houses* adds: "That from the evidence before the Committee, *the Coasting Trade which has, beyond all other Trades, afforded to the Navy the largest supply of the hardest of our Seamen, is likely to decrease, unless Parliament shall adopt timely measures to protect it.*" Let the Coasting Trade rejoice, and prepare to *increase* for the "timely measures" are at hand "to protect it." The repeal of the Navigation Laws. Which when accomplished, will bring all the cheap rovers on the ocean to increase and "protect it." Sagacious legislators !

Throughout all these Parliamentary declarations stands forth *the principle* that the Commercial Marine is the strength and safety of the Country. Then, destroying it, is destroying that strength and safety. The preservation of the Coasting Trade will not be enough, besides, it would be inconsistent to select particular descriptions of voyages for foreign competition and close it to others. This unyielding principle, so much discarded on, if the protection of the Country is not admitted to overrule it, must be equally applied to all.

The Coasting Trade possesses only 45,000 Seamen,

the best and hardiest in the world, certainly, but that is not the moiety of what would be required in a great and sudden war. In thirty years, with the present ratio of progression, the United States, by their *protective Navigation Laws*, will have 160,000 Sea men in their Commercial Marine. How if a war with that Country, conjoined with any other naval power, break out in a few years, and your own discarded Seamen at the enemies' guns? *Where will the strength and safety of the Country be then?* You had a sample of it in the last American War. Even within the memory of man, in 1779, a union of the French and Spanish Fleets drove the British Navy from the seas; Sir Charles Hardy and the Channel Fleet were obliged to run to port, "and the enemy's flag rode triumphantly on the British Coast," as Smollet expresses it. Then, as during the whole of the last war, and as now, the ever-ready Seamen of the Commercial Marine retrieved this dishonour, and secured the Country's integrity. Then, as now, our only national safety.

Even at this moment, with the 100,000 Seamen of the United States, and a preponderating European hostility, they are dangerous competitors. Away, then, with such folly as the repeal of the Navigation Laws, the reduction of the British Commercial Marine, and its substitution by the cheap foreigner:—it is nothing less than insanity.

Adam Smith, whom you profess to honour as the great apostle of *Free Trade*, forbids it. In Book IV,

ch. II of his *Wealth of Nations*, he solemnly announces to you,—“*As defence is of much more importance than opulence the Act of Navigation is perhaps the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England.*”

If the Act of Navigation be “the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England,” what must be those men that would repeal it? We can eat foreign corn and wear foreign cloth, but we cannot defend Britain by Foreign Sailors. The Romans before tried mercenaries and lost their country. Nor can seamen be made in an instant—they must be grown from their infancy. The French and Russians do so—and fail in the great material of a Navy. The Commercial Marine is the sole means of production of hardy and experienced Seamen—and they are the Navy—not our Ships.

Defence is not only of more importance than opulence, but it is all important; for by it not only is opulence secured its enjoyment, but the state its existence. Whenever defence is lost, opulence can no longer exist, its very abundance will bring in upon it speedy destruction. Of all defences for Britain, the best and cheapest is a peaceful Commercial Marine; it never sleeps: it is always ready; and it sentinels the land while pouring upon its country abundance and wealth, and it diffuses over the world the advantages of civilization and the arts, and the principles of liberty. It can never encroach upon the public liberties,—it can easily be concentrated in

armed fleets,—and it keeps far off the terrible scenes of war. It is the bond of connexion with your outlying Colonies—the cement of your colossal empire—and the very soul of your national existence.

Electors! The Navigation Laws, which secure to British Vessels the *Coasting Trade*, the *British European Carrying Trade*, except produce of their respective countries, which may be brought in their own ships; the *Colonial Carrying Trade*, and that of *Asia, Africa, and America*, with exceptions that modify, but do not destroy, the main object of these Laws,—whose spirit has been the source of your Commercial Marine, and the strength of Britain for many ages; these Laws they are seeking in a hostile Parliamentary Committee to repeal, and to supersede British Ships by Foreign Vessels.

Electors! In this great crisis the destinies of your Country, to a great extent, are in your hands. It becomes the constituencies of Sea-Ports especially not to flinch now from their duties. It is a fortunate dispensation of Providence that the Country is at so critical a juncture, placed again at its own disposal. It depends upon the constituencies to return such English-hearted men to Parliament, as will protect the national honour and safety, by securing the Commercial Marine, from destruction. No Sea-Port should return a man who is not firm in his support of the maritime system of Britain—the system of ages—the system of prosperity and strength, which has developed and protected a richer and greater Empire

than before these times the world ever saw. It were treason to itself, and its country, for a Sea-Port not to sustain this system to the utmost. Shipowners, Sailors, and Shipwrights, it is especially your question ; but it is also that of your country ; for through you its enemies are about to strike a mortal blow at its existence.

Every Sea-port can not only secure its own members, supporters of our national maritime system, but it may influence, if it cannot command, an adherence to this system, of every member of its respective county. The numerous county electors of large and populous sea-ports hold in their hands the representation of their counties. A firm union on this great common object is the only thing needed. The distinction of parties should be sunk—the voice of factions hushed before the deep voice of your Country calling for your assistance. It depends upon you whether your country shall continue in its career of greatness. Failing your duties now, your children, if not yourselves, will be plunged into national difficulties that will in their time be too late to avert, and will eventually overwhelm them.

The integrity of the Country broken up—the Empire in fragments—and her great name, that reverberates and rules around the globe, will be only a memory or a record—and other greater and wiser people, taught by your fatal example, will arise in your stead. This is no ordinary contest—no party conflict—but the struggle of a great nation for her

safety and independence, her glory, and her strength. Let us bury every party consideration at so sacred a moment, and let us unite with a firm determination of acting for one common glorious object—and that object our Country.

Let us invoke the spirit that has animated the Seeservice of Britain in every age. Let us, inspired by it, meet the treacherous enemy with the same resolution with which the men of that service always met your foes—and a similar triumph will be yours.

Let us fight for it which has always fought for us.

The genius of your Country calls to you from the deep—the voice of ten centuries rolls over the land, and rouses it to the struggle.

In this battle “*England expects that every man will do his duty.*”

By doing so, a national victory, more important and permanent than that of the greatest naval battle ever won, will be achieved.

It is the battle of your Country.

Be united and determined and victory is yours.

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